1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

596 Thus, while the village and gens are permanent units, the lineages of which they are composed are constantly dissolving and changing, a given lineage rarely persisting more than four generations.

596 554 The lineage is a direct outgrowth of the family. It has already been said that married sons build their houses close to that of the father and that they and their children are under his control as long as he lives. If the brothers are friendly to each other, as is usually the case, they continue to live together after his death, keeping the family land holdings and cattle herd intact. The eldest son becomes the head of the group, in the father's place. He directs the common activities, settles internal disputes and acts as its representative in councils and minor sacrifices. His position is almost like that of the father and he is shown great respect by the other members. At the same time, he has no legal authority over his brothers or their children and must gain his ends by persuasion. As he usually receives more of the father's property than the younger sons, he is generally the richest member of the group and strengthens his position by gifts and loans to the rest. When he dies, his eldest son succeeds to the leadership and the group holds together until split by some serious internal dispute. The reason for such disputes is usually economic, but jealousy is also important in the third and fourth generations. A rich man who cannot succeed to the leadership of the lineage will often demand his share of the common property and found a new lineage.

The members of each lineage live together in a separate ward within the village. They herd their cattle together and help each other in making the tany ("fields for hill rice"). All contribute to the support of poor and old members and, at funerals, all are assessed according to their wealth. Individual property rights are fully recognized, but there is a good deal of informal communism. Within the limits set by good taste, any member may use the tools, etc., belonging to any other, even in his absence. Food is shared freely. [754] In many cases the members will deposit their money with the head of the lineage, who acts as a sort of banker.

Blood ties between members of the same lineage are felt to be almost as close as those between members of the same family. Men and women use the same terms of relationship for each other as for [582] actual brothers and sisters. Marriage within the lineage, although permitted in some cases, is generally frowned upon.

THE VILLAGE

621 361 Until very recent times, isolated dwellings have been unknown among the Tanala, due to the constant danger of attack. The village

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565 special rights, as that of killing cattle for the commoners, but they
618 were rigidly excluded from any part in the government.

REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

582 Courtship, the ceremony of marriage, ceremonies used for lifting the ban on certain degrees of relationship, etc., have been described in the section, Life Cycle of the Individual. Only the social control of marriage will be treated here. The only bar to marriage among the Tanala is relationship in certain degrees, but there are opinions as to the desirability of certain types of union which, although not formulated as prohibitions, do much to influence individual choice. Marriages between the members of different generations, or between persons with a marked disparity in age, are usually looked upon with disfavor and are infrequent. Marriages within the lineage are considered undesirable and are very rare. The Menabe were formerly strongly in favor of marriage within the village, but there has been a change in their attitude within the last fifty years. They now favor marriage outside the village, saying that such marriages give the young people a greater range of choice and are more permanent. The Ikongo have always favored marriage outside the village, perhaps [618] because of their greater fear of incest. Marriages within the gens are considered highly desirable by both groups and were normal in ancient times. Since the French domination has put an end to wars, intergens marriages have increased considerably.

572 Relationships controlling marriage are based on actual blood
582 relationship, on relationship through marriage, and on relationship established by the *mifanangena* ("blood brotherhood") ceremony. In [595] polygynous families the children stand in the same relation to the relatives of their father's plural wives as to those of their own mother. If a widow with children remarries, the children stand in the same relation to the new husband's family as to that of their actual father. Relationship based on marriage is as binding as blood relationship in regulating marriages. The children of persons who have performed the *mifanangena* stand in the same relation to each other as the children of actual brothers, sisters, or brother and sister, but, as a control on marriage, this relationship is usually allowed to lapse in the second or third generation.

582 The Ikongo forbid marriage between parent and child, brother and sister, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, and between the children of two brothers, two sisters or brother and sister. These prohibitions are more extensive than is usually the case in Madagascar and

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suggest the Betsileo system, in which marriage is prohibited between 582
persons having a common ancestor within four generations on either side. The Ikongo do not carry their restrictions as far as the Betsileo and they have a ceremony for lifting the ban on the more remote degrees, but I could not learn which ones.

The Menabe system is quite different. Marriage is prohibited between parent and child, brother and sister, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, and between the children of a brother and sister who have married a sister and brother. The last are considered as closely related as children of a single couple. Marriage between the descendants of two sisters, tracing in the female line, is also absolutely prohibited, no matter how remote their actual relationship. The ban on the foregoing marriages cannot be lifted. In all but the Zafindiamanana gens it is forbidden for a man to marry the daughter of his first cousin. This is considered almost equivalent to a marriage between father and daughter. However, the ban can be lifted by a ceremony and such marriages are not unknown. A woman does not seem to be forbidden to marry the son of a first cousin, but such a union would be considered unnatural and informants knew of no instance. The children of two brothers may marry, but there is some feeling against it. The ban-lifting ceremony is often performed as a precaution, although it is not absolutely necessary.

The children of a brother and sister, i.e. cross cousins, are expected to marry, although they are not forced to do so. If they do not, their children are still more strongly urged to marry and this, cross cousins in the second generation, is considered the ideal match. Cross-cousin marriage seems to be most developed among the Zafindiamanana. Here the cross cousins address each other as *Anjarasody* ("potential spouse"). If they fail to marry, the same reciprocal term is used by their children. It is also used by a man and his cross cousin's daughter, whom he is expected to marry. This is the only case in which marriage across generation lines is approved. The other Tanala have no corresponding term.

The Tanala say that cross-cousin marriage is pleasing to the ancestors, who like to see their descendants closely knit together, and that it helps to keep property within the related group. The property aspect was always stressed and I believe that this is the main reason.

THE LEVIRATE

The Tanala Ikongo regularly practice the levirate in the case of 587
widows with children. It is considered desirable because the children

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woman with an illegitimate child is expected to give the regular bride price and to pay a small sum for the child as well, if he wants it. If he does not, it belongs to the mother's family and is reared by them. 583

The most extreme example of this idea of the purchase of potential children is found among the Vezo Sakalava, a tribe on the southwest coast. Here there is no refund of the bride price in case of divorce, but the consent of the first husband is necessary for a remarriage. He will bargain with the new husband as to how many children born of the new union will be given to him and is entitled to demand from one to three. Such children are considered the first husband's legal heirs, without formality of adoption. Informants said specifically that such children were to reimburse him for the loss of the bride price. [587]

INTER-CLASS MARRIAGE AND INHERITANCE OF RANK

Slavery has been abolished among the Tanala and class distinctions are rapidly breaking down, so that the statements made here refer to past conditions. The native attitude toward inter-class marriages was much like the European one, the higher classes disapproving and the lower approving. Marriages between noble and common and between common and *ndevo* were fairly common, but marriages between noble and *ndevo* were almost unknown. Noble men frequently had *ndevo* concubines. If the mother was a slave, the father would free both her and their child, but would not make her a legal wife. The child's status was doubtful. He would not be considered *ndevo*, but the nobles would rarely acknowledge him as a full member of their class and gens. Affairs between noble women and *ndevo* men were vigorously opposed by the nobles and the *ndevo* lover would be sold out of the village or even killed. Informants knew of no offspring from such unions. 582 567 [684]

Marriages between nobles and commoners were not uncommon. The ceremonies were the same as for marriages within either class. Among the Ikongo, children of such unions took the father's rank and gens. Among the Menabe they took those of the lower parent.

Marriages between commoners and free *ndevo* seem to have been rather frequent. If the *ndevo* had been born free and had a family in the village, the ordinary marriage ceremony was performed. The children took the rank and gens of the father. Such unions were rather looked down upon and were rarely contracted by any but the poorer commoners.

Matings between commoners and slaves seem to have been regarded more favorably. It must be remembered that many of these

582 were Tanala prisoners of war whose antecedents were well known.
567 If the slave came of a good family, the fact that he or she was a slave carried little social stigma and the children would be accepted as equals by their relatives.

In unions of commoners and slaves there was no marriage ceremony. [585] If a common man took a slave woman as a concubine, her status was not changed unless a child was born to them. After this, the father was in honor bound to buy her and their child from her owner. He would usually free both of them by calling together his family and pronouncing a curse on anyone who thenceforth considered them as slaves. If he did this, the child inherited his gens and rank. If he failed to do it the child and mother remained slaves and might be sold by his heirs after his death.

If a woman who had been captured and enslaved bore a child to her master, her relatives might remove her slave status by paying a partial ransom. This was called *fanjalanpranana* ("to replace carrying the bamboo") in reference to the long bamboo bottles used by slave women for carrying water. It was usually about half the [V35] woman's market value as a slave, perhaps four to six head of cattle. The payment of this ransom not only freed the woman and her offspring, but gave her an honorable position in the household equal to that of any of the regularly married wives.

Marriages between common women and slave men were less frequent, but by no means unknown. Middle-aged widows who [581] wished to be only wives frequently took slave husbands. The first step was to buy the man, if he belonged to someone else. The woman then made a feast, killed an ox and distributed the meat to her relatives, and announced that this man was henceforth free and her husband. The wife had a whip hand in such unions. The husband, even though officially free, could not return to his own people. Moreover, [582] if he behaved badly or paid attention to other women, his wife could reduce him to slavery again and even sell him.

567 Children of common women and slave men took the gens and rank of the mother. However, if the father was a Tanala and had been a man of good family, or a noble, before his enslavement, the children might go back to his people when they were grown and could legitimately claim his gens and rank.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 The Tanala system of relationship terms is comparatively simple. It was impossible to get an authoritative list of the terms used by

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west, *sarombory* seem to be rather numerous. Three classes of 838
individuals are represented, hermaphrodites, homosexuals, and men who are impotent. The hermaphrodites adopt the role at birth, the others at puberty or later. The Bara have a class of professional male dancers, many of whom are homosexual. In extreme cases these become *sarombory*, or fluctuate between the male and female roles. One dancer was pointed out to me as having been a *sarombory* for several years, after which he reverted to male dress. He did this for economic reasons, for he could not dance while pretending to be a woman. I learned of another case in which a *sarombory* had married a man and lived with him as a subsidiary wife, although the man already had a real wife and children. Apparently the first wife accepted the arrangement without protest.

By no means all *sarombory* are homosexual or hermaphrodite. Women everywhere discuss the virility of their lovers and this is especially the case among the cattle people of the south and west, who allow great sexual license before marriage. If a young man is feeble or impotent, the whole community will know it and the women will jeer at him. If he adopts the *sarombory* role, the mockery ceases. I was told of two young men who had done so after leading normal existences to the age of puberty. They had lived as women for several years without manifesting homosexual tendencies. The most interesting case which came under my observation was that of a man of sixty, a widower with grown children. He had led a normal life up to the age of fifty-two or three, when a long illness left him impotent and unfit for heavy work. He declared that he was no longer a man, adopted woman's dress, and learned to weave. This man was a Betsileo, settled among the Bara, and made a good living by selling his cloth to them. He was always referred to as a *saromboay*, but seemed to command considerable respect.

There seems to be no instance, among the Tanala or elsewhere, of a woman adopting the male role.

MARRIAGE

Men normally marry between the ages of eighteen and twenty- 842
two and women between sixteen and twenty. By this time both sexes are physically mature and able to take care of a family without assistance. In general, men are a few years older than their wives, but any great discrepancy in age is frowned on. There are a few bachelors, some of whom live alone and cook for themselves, but they are ridiculed and thought mentally abnormal. Apparently all

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582 [585] women marry. Under the old conditions of frequent warfare there was a shortage of men. The most desirable girls were chosen first and became head wives, after which the surplus was absorbed by plural marriages. Today, when the sexes are more nearly equal in numbers, plural marriages seem to be on the wane.

584 Among the Menabe, marriages were formerly arranged by the parents. Children were usually married young, before they had formed strong preferences. The consent of the child was not necessary, but old people say that it was considered cruel to force a child into a distasteful union and that such a thing was very rare in practice. Usually the young people were indifferent. At the present time marriages are arranged by the parties themselves, with the consent of their parents and the village council. They come to an agreement before notifying the old people. The natives approve of the new method and say that such unions are more permanent than the old type. Among the Ikongo, marriages are usually arranged by the young people, with the consent of their parents.

Courting takes place in the children's houses already described. Most of it is public. The boy and girl are rarely alone together for long, since the girl's brothers, sisters and friends are constantly dropping in. There is often spicy repartee and a certain amount of good-natured horse play, but little physical love making. The boy may make small gifts to the girl, but this does not seem to be necessary. At the present time matches are sometimes arranged in a few hours between boys and girls from different villages who have met at feasts or while traveling.

In arranging marriages economic considerations seem to be uppermost in the minds of even the young people. In general, a man is content if he gets a wife who is strong and industrious while a woman is satisfied with any hard working husband, the richer the better. Only ordinary congeniality is expected. What little romance there is seems to be practically limited to first marriages. Plural wives are taken on purely economic grounds and have to pass the scrutiny of the first wife.

Romantics are universally considered fools. Nevertheless, I heard of a few love matches in which couples had married in the face of opposition and to their economic disadvantage. If such a match is forbidden by the parents, the children will do everything possible to change their stand. Failing this, they will begin to have intercourse surreptitiously and continue until the girl becomes pregnant. The boy will then present an ox to the girl's father, if

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he can afford it, and tell him that she is bearing his child. The father will then consent to the marriage, to avoid scandal. Such conduct is considered reprehensible and the relatives on both sides will scold the couple. However, the trouble soon blows over and has no permanent effect on the social status of the pair. 584

Although marriages rarely begin in romantic attachments, affection between married people is common and seems to increase with age. Quarrels between husband and wife are rare. They are drawn together by their love for their children and by their common economic interests. Divorce, although very easy, seems to be much less frequent than among ourselves. 593 [586]

The degrees of relationship within which marriage is proscribed have been discussed under Social Organization. However, the force of the proscription varies. In addition to the absolutely forbidden degrees, there are certain relatives whose marriage is considered a semi-incest, likely to have bad results. This applies particularly to the descendants of two brothers. To remove the danger it is thought well to perform a ceremony to remove the ban. 582

Among the Ikongo this ban-lifting ceremony is called *fafy*. The man provides one ox if the relationship is remote or two if it is close. The animals are thrown and tied on the east side of the father's house, with their heads toward the east. The head of the lineage cuts their throats, invoking the gods and ancestors and explaining the reason for the sacrifice. The sacrificial parts are cooked and offered and the rest of the meat cut up and distributed raw to the members of both families involved. The man takes the heart and squeezes a few drops of blood from it on the forehead of the girl. She then takes it and does the same to him. After this the ban is lifted and they will have a prosperous life together. 582 782

Among the Menabe the ban-lifting ceremony is only compulsory when a man marries the daughter of his mother's sister's son, but it is thought advisable when he marries his father's brother's daughter or granddaughter. In ancient times an ox was killed and the couple sprinkled with the blood. This ceremony is now obsolete and the ritual has been forgotten. At present, the head of the lineage puts water in a wooden dish with a silver bracelet and scrapings of the *hasinonga* (see Prayer and Sacrifice). He asperges the couple with the water three or six times, usually six, counting as he does so. He then invokes the gods and ancestors and announces: "These two [giving the names] wish to marry. They are forced to this by love and by the difficulty of finding mates of the allowed degrees.

582 Please pardon them and let them have children, both boys and girls.
782 We ourselves have pardoned them, so that punishment for the infraction of the taboo may be averted." After this they may marry safely. If they marry without the ceremony, they will both become ill, or will be sterile, or any children born to them will die in infancy.

CEREMONIES OF BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE

584 Among the Tanala Ikongo the formalities of marriage are as follows: When a couple have decided to marry they notify their respective parents. Before giving consent the parents investigate: 1. The conduct of the future husband or wife. 2. Whether the person is free from other attachments. Previous wives are, of course, no bar to the union. 3. Whether the couple are within the prohibited degrees of relationship. If both families are content, the boy sends one or two men of his family, or close friends, to ask for the girl. The emissary does this in a set speech and when the offer has been accepted, presents her father with the *fihaka* or bride price. This consists of rum, spades, etc., and is usually fairly large. The marriage is not legal unless the bride price has been paid.

From the moment the *fihaka* has been given and received the girl is considered bound. No one else may ask for her in marriage. She continues to live with her parents for about a month, during which time she weaves the mats, baskets, etc., necessary for the new establishment. At the same time the prospective husband prepares the house and makes the wooden utensils. He visits her from time to time, working for her parents and especially bringing them firewood. This period of service is called *zo-lamp*. The young people may begin to have sexual relations as soon as the bride price has been paid.

585 When everything is ready for the new home a medicine-man is called in to indicate an auspicious day for the final ceremony. On this day the man sends three men and three women of his family to get the girl. These are called *mpanaka*. When they arrive at the father-in-law's house there is an exchange of speeches. Finally the father-in-law counsels his daughter to behave well in her new home and invokes the gods and ancestral spirits, asking them to protect the couple and give them children. A simple meal is then served. After this the girl and the *mpanaka* start to the husband's house, the *mpanaka* carrying the baggage. This consists of mats and baskets, pounded rice, dried meat, etc.